

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SS-14 CU-04 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-09

NSAE-00 RSC-01 NSC-10 L-03 PA-03 NIC-01 RSR-01 INRE-00

SCI-06 /079 W

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P 281030 Z MAR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4918

INFO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1104

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SCUL, RO

SUBJECT: ROMANIAN FINE ARTS EXHIBIT

REF: BUCHAREST 1028

1. SUMMARY: RELAYS CONTENTS OF NOTE VERBALE FROM COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE AND EDUCATION ON ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR FUNDING INTERNAL TRANSPORT EXPENSE OF ROMANIAN FINE ARTS EXHIBIT; REVIEWS SERIES OF RELEVANT CONSIDERATIONS WITH WHICH U. S. SIDE MIGHT ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT AND TRANSMITS EMBASSY RECOMMENDATION AGAINST ANY MOVE WHICH COULD FORCE ROMANIAN CANCELLATION OF FINE ARTS EXHIBIT IN U. S. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY IN POSSESSION OF NOTE VERBALE DATED MARCH 24, 1973, FROM COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE AND EDUCATION WHICH IS CLEARLY PART OF GOR' S FOLLOW- UP DEMARCHE ON ROMANIAN EXHIBIT PROBLEM AS ANTICIPATED REFTEL. PROPOSAL IN NOTE HEWS CLOSELY TO LINE TAKEN BY COUNCIL PERSONNEL DURING MARCH 21 MEETING WITH PAO AND REQUESTS, IN ESSENCE, FORMULA WHEREBY U. S. SIDE AGREES " ON EXCEPTIONAL BASIS" TO FUND INTERNAL TRANSPORTATION COSTS FOR ROMANIAN FINE ARTS EXHIBIT IN EXCHANGE FOR WHICH ROMANIAN SIDE WOULD AGREE TO COVER INTERNAL SHIPPING EXPENSES FOR " AN AMERICAN ART EXHIBIT" IN EITHER 1973 OR 1974.

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3. COMPLETE TEXT ROMANIAN NOTE ( OMITTING CEREMONIAL OPENING, CLOSING, UNNECESSARY WORDS) AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE AND EDUCATION REFERS TO UNCLEAR ARTICLES OF THE FINANCIAL CONDITIONS FOR EXCHANGE OF EXHIBITS IN ANNEX OF ROMANIAN- AMERICAN CULTURAL AGREEMENT FOR 1973-74 ( SIC) AND HAS THE HONOR OF PROPOSING THE FOLLOWING:

A. ON EXCEPTIONAL BASIS AMERICAN SIDE WOULD PROVIDE COST OF INTERNAL TRANSPORTATION ( WITHIN UNITED STATES), TO AND FROM WASHINGTON, FOR EXHIBIT OF CONTEMPORARY ROMANIAN PAINTING PLANNED FOR THIS YEAR IN UNITED STATES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROVISIONS OF ROMANIAN- AMERICAN CULTURAL AGREEMENT FOR 1973-74.

B. IN RETURN, COUNCIL WOULD PROVIDE INTERNAL TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES, TO AND FROM BUCHAREST, FOR AN AMERICAN ART EXHIBIT, WHICH WILL BE ORGANIZED IN VARIOUS CITIES IN ROMANIA IN THE YEAR 1973 OR 1974. THIS WOULD BE APART FROM LOCAL TRANSPORTATION (" ACEASTA IN AFARA TRANSPORTULUI LOCAL") FOR THE AMON CARTER MUSEUM ART EXHIBITION SUGGESTED FOR DISPLAY IN BUCHAREST MARCH- APRIL 1974. UNQUOTE.

4. NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS SEEM WORTH NOTING IN CONNECTION WITH THIS PROPOSAL. FIRST, IT IS POSSIBLE FOR EMBASSY TO SEE NET FINANCIAL ADVANTAGE TO U. S. IF, IN AGREEING TO PAY INTERNAL COSTS OF ROMANIAN FINE ARTS EXHIBIT, WE HAD ASSURANCE THAT INTERNAL SHIPPING OF MAJOR U. S. EXHIBIT PROJECT SUCH AS ENVIRONMENT THEME SCHEDULED FOR FALL OF 1973 WERE PICKED UP BY ROMANIANS. HOOKER HERE, OF COURSE, IS ROMANIAN REFERENCE TO " AMERICAN ART EXHIBIT" AND EARLIER INDICATIONS THAT COUNCIL WOULD BE UNWILLING, OR RATHER UNABLE ACCEPT COMMITMENT FOR AN EXHIBIT THAT DID NOT CLEARLY FALL INTO " ART" CATEGORY ( CF. PARA 6, REFTEL). FIRM AND SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDING WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE REQUIRED THIS POINT.

5. ALTERNATIVELY, ASSUMING THAT COUNCIL WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT COMMITMENT FOR MAJOR " NON- ART" EXHIBIT ( AND EMBASSY IS CONVINCED THAT THIS IS IN FACT THE CASE), THERE REMAINS POTENTIAL TRADE- OFF ADVANTAGE TO U. S. SIDE WHICH MIGHT BE CONSIDERED. IN FURTHER INFORMAL PROBING WITH COUNCIL PERSONNEL CONCERNING PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE ABOVE PROPOSAL, EMBASSY WAS TOLD THAT U. S. COULD, FOR EXAMPLE, BRING A LARGE, MUSEUM- SIZE ART COLLECTION TO ROMANIA ( E. G., EYEWITNESS TO SPACE) AND HAVE ASSURANCE THAT IT WOULD BE DISPLAYED AT ROMANIAN EXPENSE IN WHATEVER NUMBER OF CITIES WE DESIRED, EVEN IF LEI COST

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FOR THIS EXCEEDED DOLLAR AMOUNT SPENT ON ROMANIAN FINE ARTS

EXHIBIT IN U. S. ( ROMANIANS ALSO WILLING COVER INTERNAL EXPENSES FOR AMON CARTER EXHIBIT UNDER VI (2) OF AGREEMENT, HENCE REFERENCE TO THIS SUBJECT IN NOTE). THIS SEEMS TO US CONTINGENCY THAT, ON SURFACE AT LEAST, PROVIDES CONSIDERABLE BUILT- IN PROGRAM FLEXIBILITY FOR US AND MIGHT BE USEFULLY EXPLORED.

6. ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATION IS QUESTION OF HOW " EXCEPTIONAL" BASIS ROMANIAN PROPOSAL REALLY IS. IN OTHER WORDS, WOULD FORMULA NOW PUT FORWARD BE ONE- TIME EXPEDIENT ONLY, OR WOULD ROMANIANS SEEK TO USE IT AS TACK TOWARD COMPLETE REVERSAL U. S. UNDERSTANDING OF AGREEMENT PROVISIONS? IN RELATED CONTEXT, IT SEEMS TO EMBASSY THAT WE WOULD CLEARLY REQUIRE SOME FIRM ASSURANCE FROM ROMANIANS THAT WHATEVER TRADE- OFF ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE AGREED TO IN CONNECTION WITH AN " ART" EXHIBIT WOULD IN NO WAY INHIBIT , OR BE IN PLACE OF, PROJECTED PLANS FOR MOUNTING TWO MAJOR U. S. EXHIBITS PROVIDED FOR UNDER VI (1) OF CURRENT AGREEMENT, WHETHER OR NOT ROMANIANS THEMSELVES ARE ABLE TO ACHIEVE RECIPROCITY ( BASED ON TRACK RECORD TO DATE, WE THINK IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY THEY WILL BE ABLE ORGANIZE TWO MAJOR EXHIBITS DURING TWO- YEAR PERIOD IN QUESTION).

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P 281030 Z MAR 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4919  
INFO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1104

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SCUL, RO  
SUBJ: ROMANIAN FINE ARTS EXHIBIT

7. ONE PERIPHERAL FACTOR OF SOME IMPORTANCE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED, NAMELY GOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE DIFFICULTIES AND CURRENT EFFORTS

OF REGIME TO ALLOT FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO AREAS THAT HAVE DIRECT CONNECTION WITH PLAN FULFILLMENT AT EXPENSE OF NON- PRODUCTIVE AREAS LIKE ARTS AND " CULTURE" GENERALLY. ONLY WAY LESS FAVORED GOR AGENCIES ( WHICH HAPPEN TO BE THOSE IN WHICH OUR CULTURAL OPERATIONS ARE MAINLY DIRECTED) CAN CIRCUMVENT INDUSTRY- ORIENTED FINANCIAL PRIORITIES IS TO STRIKE DEALS WITH FOREIGN COUNTER- PARTS SO THAT GOR CULTURAL AGENCY ONLY HAS TO SPEND LEI, NOT FOREIGN EXCHANGE. FROM OVERALL GOR VIEWPOINT, AMOUNT OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE INVOLVED IS ROUGHLY THE SAME BUT UNDER SENDING SIDE PAYS FORMULA, FOREIGN EXCHANGE OUTLAY IS CLEARLY LAID TO ONE AGENCY WHEREAS FOREIGN EXCHANGE RECEIPTS GO TO MINISTRY OF FINANCE ( TO BE ULTIMATELY DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO FORMULA ADVERSE TO CULTURAL AGENCIES). ARGUMENT CAN THIS BE MADE THAT THERE IS GENERAL U. S. INTEREST - IF WE WANT MORE BALANCE IN EXCHANGEPROGRAM TOWARD ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES AND AWAY FROM TECHNOLOGY - TO SUPPORT RECEIVING SIDE PAYS INTERNAL COSTS FORMULA IN AREAS LIKE EXHIBITS, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES.

8. PENDING DEPARTMENT/USIA REACTION TO NOTE QUOTED ABOVE  
( CONTENTS OF WHICH ROMANIAN EMBASSY MAY ALSO HAVE RAISED WITH  
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WASHINGTON BY NOW), WE HAVE INFORMED COUNCIL THAT ITS PROPOSAL UNDER STUDY AND THAT EMBASSY WOULD SEEK TRANSMIT U. S. VIEW ASAP. IN HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE USEFUL AT WASHINGTON END, WE WISH REITERATE TWO JUDGMENTS WHICH WE HAVE COME TO OVER PAST FEW DAYS: 1) THAT COUNCIL WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT BE ABLE OBTAIN FINANCIAL BACKING FOR ITS EXHIBIT FROM ANY OTHER PART OF ROMANIAN BUREAUCRACY; AND 2) IF SOLUTION IS TO BE FOUND TO PRESENT IMPASSE, IT WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE WITHIN THE PARAMETERS INDICATED PARAS 4-7 ABOVE. RE LATTER, IT IS EMBASSY'S CAREFULLY CONSIDERED VIEW THAT WE NOW HAVE MORE TO LOSE THAN TO GAIN IN HOLDING COUNCIL FEET TO FIRE AND FORCING THEM TO ACCEPT SITUATION ( ALBEIT OF THEIR OWN MAKING) WHICH WOULD REQUIRE CANCELLATION OF ROMANIAN EXHIBIT IN U. S.  
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